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You Can't Sit With Us: an Examination of the Influence of Forgiveness and Accountability on the Use of Relational Aggression in College-Age Women

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"You can't sit with us": an examination of the influence of forgiveness and accountability on the use of relational aggression in college-age women

by

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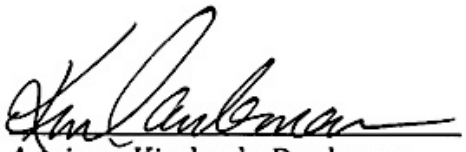

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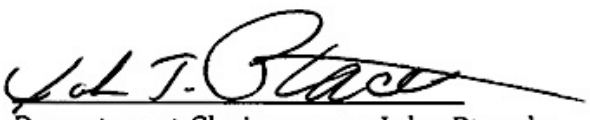

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Abstract

The current study seeks to investigate the ways in which forgiveness and accountability influence the likelihood that a female perpetrator of relational aggression will continue this behavior, and/or reconcile with her victim. It is hypothesized that when a perpetrator of relational aggression is held accountable for her actions, and is also forgiven by her victim, she will experience the greatest level of guilt, will perpetrate the least number of similar instances in the future, and will be most inclined to seek reconciliation with her victim. Ninety female students attending Bucknell University (57 in the fall, 33 in the spring) were asked to complete an online survey to participate in this study. This survey utilized a recall procedure, asking participants to recall an instance in which they perpetrated relational aggression and to describe the incident in detail. Degrees of forgiveness and accountability were assessed, in addition to the participant's degree of self-blame, guilt, and future usage of relational aggression. Results of moderating analyses found no main effect between forgiveness on relational aggression ($\beta = -.15$, $p = .24$) or victim accountability on relational aggression ($\beta = -.16$, $p = .27$), and no interaction effect of forgiveness and victim accountability on relational aggression ($\beta = .21$, $p = .25$). No significant interaction effect was found for forgiveness and victim accountability on reconciliation ($\beta = -.12$, $p = .33$), but significant main effects were found for forgiveness on reconciliation ($\beta = .52$, $p = .00$) and victim accountability on reconciliation ($\beta = .39$, $p = .05$). Using personal

responsibility – assessed separately by self-blame and guilt – as a mediating variable, no meditational relationship was found between forgiveness and reconciliation or victim accountability and reconciliation.

Introduction

Various forms of aggression and fighting are present in all relationships, from friendships and family relationships to romantic relationships. One of the most common forms of aggression to appear in friendships among groups of females is relational aggression (Crick and Grotpeter, 1995). This form of aggression is most easily understood when considered in comparison to physical aggression, which is any physical act of aggression such as punching or shoving. Acts of aggression targeted at harming a relationship, such as gossiping, name-calling, exclusion, and spreading rumors, would be classified as relational aggression. Existing research helps to frame when and by whom relational aggression is used and how victims cope with the relational aggression. There is little research, however, on how perpetrators of relational aggression can be deterred. Specifically, this project will investigate the ways that forgiveness and accountability from peers impact a perpetrator's feelings of guilt and self-blame, their likelihood to use relational aggression again, and whether they will attempt to reconcile their relationship with their victim.

For many years it was asserted that men were more aggressive than women. Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) were among the first to suggest that it is not accurate to say that one of the two genders is more aggressive than the other, but that they may differ in the types of aggression that they use more frequently. Results of studies summarized in their review confirmed this hypothesis, and more specifically,

suggest that men are more physically aggressive while women are more verbally aggressive (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). These results – that boys were more physically aggressive and girls were more verbally aggressive – were also discovered and confirmed in research performed by Frodi, Macaulay, and Thome (1977). Further research demonstrated that while men were indeed more prepared and willing to inflict physical pain, when examining willingness to inflict mental pain, women were just as aggressive in this area as their male counterparts (Eagly & Steffen, 1986). All of this research viewed in conjunction not only took a significant step forward by dispelling the myth that, as a whole, women are less aggressive than men, but also demonstrated the need for further research to reveal the specifics of exactly how the two genders differ in their more commonly utilized method of aggression.

In contrast to Maccoby and Jacklin (1974), Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist & Feltonen (1988) suggest that boys and girls engage equally in verbal aggression, but differ in whether they do so in a direct or indirect manner. Specifically within a group of 11-year old children, this study discovered that direct verbal aggression was utilized the same amount by both genders, (Lagerspetz et al., 1988). More importantly, this study found that when members of both genders chose to utilize verbal aggression, boys were more likely to utilize direct methods, whereas the girls were more likely to behave in an indirect manner, through actions such as manipulation of the target's social standing in the classroom (Lagerspetz et al., 1988).

Bjorkqvist, Lagerspetz & Kaukiainen (1992) replicated these results within two additional age groups (8 and 15 years old). It is within this study that a definition of indirect aggression, the manner in which women evidently express their aggressive tendencies, is offered. Indirect aggression is here defined as any,

> "type of behavior in which a perpetrator attempts to inflict pain in such a manner that he or she makes it seem as though there has been no intention to hurt at all. Accordingly, he or she is more likely to avoid counter aggression and, if possible, to remain unidentified. A way to obtain this objective is to use others as vehicles for inflicting pain (mental or physical) on a target person" (Bjorkqvist et al., 1992).

An additional crucial finding of this study is that the ability to strategically inflict indirect aggression was not as prominent or as fully developed among the 8-year-old girls, but did exist within the 11-year-olds, and was even more common among the 15-year-olds (Bjorkqvist et al., 1992). These results suggest not only that the specific aggressive tendencies that women utilize do not develop until they are adolescents, but also that they become more honed and prevalent with time.

Research performed by Crick and Rose (2000) supports this conclusion, and found that a female's aggressive tendencies increase as they age, specifically from adolescence into adulthood. Thus, in further examining these findings of female aggressive tendencies, utilizing an older group of women would be the best choice.

In a sample of college-age women for instance, it makes sense that, based on these results, their aggressive tendencies would be fully developed and be prevalent.

Existing research classifies aggression into three categories relevant to the current study: overt aggression, indirect aggression, and relational aggression. While some may use indirect and relational aggression interchangeably, there is in fact a significant difference between the two. As Archer and Coyne (2005) discuss in their review, the difference between indirect and relational aggression has to do primarily with the intended end goal. Indirect aggression, as previously addressed, is a subtle way of acting aggressively, which also presents the lowest risk to the perpetrator due the covert nature of this type of aggression (Archer and Coyne, 2005). Relational aggression, on the other hand, is used to harm relationships or friendships with other individuals (Archer and Coyne, 2005). Thus, relational aggression can be performed indirectly (ex = spreading rumors) or in a more overt way (ex = calling someone a name). More generally, therefore, four specific types of aggression exist: overt relational, indirect relational, overt physical, and indirect physical. The distinction between relational and indirect aggression in particular is crucial to keep in mind, and also forms the basis upon which the current study on relational aggression (as opposed to indirect aggression) is devised.

Crick and Grotpeter (1995) were the first to begin to use the phrase "relational aggression" to describe the ways in which women harm others. Social norms dictate that it is not acceptable for girls to engage in physical, overt

aggression. Due to this social norm, females who wish to inflict harm must find more indirect or non-physical ways to be aggressive. Therefore, it may also be true that females as a whole are more likely to utilize relational aggression in comparison to their male counterparts. Crick and Grotpeter (1995) investigated if this phenomenon was actually true, and operationally defined relational aggression as harming others through purposeful manipulation and damage to their peer relationships. Based on the results of their study, they concluded that girls are more likely than boys to use relational aggression (Crick et al., 1995).

It is important to note that certain studies have not found results that mirror the trend of women being the more indirectly aggressive sex. Artz, Kassis, and Moldenhauer (2013) performed a cross-cultural study utilizing 5,789 adolescents from Austria, Canada, Germany, Slovenia, Spain and Switzerland, to examine the frequency with which indirect aggression is utilized within the two sexes. The instances examined in their study, however, can also be classified as indirect relational aggression (as defined above). Therefore, this paper will consider the results of the study performed by Artz et al. (2013) to reflect trends of relational aggression. Their results contradict the previously discussed general trend, and instead found that boys were more likely to utilize relational aggression against their peers (Artz et al., 2013). Furthermore, results indicate that females were almost 19 times more likely than males to say that they would use relational aggression against peers of the opposite sex, suggesting that in addition to being

more likely to use indirect relational aggression, boys are actually more likely to be victims of this same type of aggression (Artz et al., 2013).

Smith, Rose, and Schwartz-Mette (2009) found evidence that girls use relational aggression more than boys, but they also added additional perspective to help explain the inconsistent results. Utilizing a peer nominations method – in which participants rated others on the frequency with which they used relational aggression – their results indicated that girls were indeed more likely to use relational aggression. But the results also indicated this only held true when the participants were in their adolescent years and when overt relational aggression – i.e. relational aggression that was not performed in a subtle or covert manner – was specifically considered in the calculations (Smith et al., 2009). While this may not explain the results of Artz et al. (2013) specifically, they do help to explain why the literature as a whole does not consistently agree that females are indeed the more relationally aggressive sex. While the results of Smith et al. (2009) do indicate that girls were more likely to use relational aggression (in line with previously discussed research), if studies utilize a younger participant sample and/or do not specifically calculate degrees of overt (in comparison to indirect) relational aggression as a part of their analyses, Smith et al. (2009) asserts that this could explain why their results do not reflect the trend of women being more relationally aggressive than men.

Given that the majority of research appears to indicate that women are indeed the more relationally aggressive sex, it is this premise upon which this study

will be based. In addition to acknowledging this concept it is important to consider that there is a particular type of woman who is most likely to perpetrate relational aggression: the mean girl. Research performed by Marnia Gonick (2004) defines these individuals as the "Queen Bee" who obsess with gaining more social power, who intimidate, and who control the other girls in their circle mainly through fear and bullying (Gonick 2004). According to Gonick (2004), the main reason this type of socialite appears is because of necessity. As previously alluded to, it is not socially acceptable for girls to express any form of aggression or conflict in a physical manner. This leads girls to utilize tools such as "…exclusion, rumors, name-calling, and manipulation" (Gonick, 2004) in order to express their aggression in a more subtle manner. The continual use of relational aggression and an obsession with gaining social power and status are the defining characteristics of "mean girls".

While the "mean girls" are a relatively new psychological concept, some research does exist helping to understand both why mean girls continue to exist and why they are, in some ways, expected by girls to exist. As Jessica Ringrose (2006) explains, the media has played a large role in the emergence and perpetuation of mean girls. Because the concept of the mean girl has been so drastically sensationalized in the media – from books, to research articles, to movies – the fact that such a bully will exist in every day life permeates the minds of America's young women (Ringrose, 2006). Therefore, many successful, middle-class, white girls now anticipate that they will either become or encounter a mean girl over the course of

their life; it is normal and expected (Ringrose, 2006). Furthermore, Gonick (2004) asserts that girls also normalize the types of actions that take place within the mean girl's clique. Specifically, they believe that the relational aggression that they witness and/or are victimized by is a normal part of growing up, making friends, and existing in our current society as an adolescent girl (Gonick, 2004). Thus, while unfortunate, one potential explanation for the existence of the "mean girl" is that she is expected to exist. Therefore, when encounters with such a bully do occur, the victim is (arguably) not likely to be surprised or shocked by being exposed to her use of relational aggression.

There are two different ways that individuals could be victimized by an act of relational aggression, either on their own – called isolated victimization – or as a part of a group of individuals – called connected victimization (Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2013). Some studies have suggested that these different forms of victimization may be related to the status of the perpetrator. One particular study investigated whether any gender differences existed in each of these types of victimization through the use of peer-ratings (Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2013). These types of victimization were examined in conjunction with how the perpetrator was viewed socially, specifically in terms of their peer status, which was operationally defined as social prominence and preference within a particular peer group (Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2013). The study found that those who were the most frequent perpetrators of connected victimization had the highest social standing, but were also more disliked

(Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2013). This finding is interesting because it suggests an additional explanation for why these types of bullies continue to exist. Mean girls may bully their peers to maintain or increase their popularity, even at the expense of being liked. This suggests that "mean girls" may be more socially aware and adept than their peers if they are able to make this type of calculated choice. This is consistent with research indicating that the use of indirect aggression is correlated with social intelligence (Kaukiainen, Björkqvist, Lagerspetz, Österman, Salmivalli, et al., 1999). Furthermore, no correlation was found between exhibiting overt aggression – through the use of physical or verbal means – and social intelligence (Kaukiainen et al., 1999). Therefore, these socially intelligent mean girls are more likely to employ is indirect relational aggression rather than overt aggression.

In addition to considering who is most likely to employ these aggressive measures, it is necessary to also consider the type of impact that this aggression has on victims, and how victims of relational aggression cope. Generally, individuals who are consistently exposed to relational aggression have been found to suffer negative psychological consequences. In addition to having detrimental effects on the victim's social standing, it lowers an individual's sense of self-worth, can lead to maladjustment, and in the most serious cases, can lead to symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (Mynard, Joseph, Alexander, 2000). Continued exposure also leads to the development of depression (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995). It is important to note that the PTSD symptoms (arguably one of the most severe

results) was not found to result from the same levels of exposure to physical or verbal bullying, thus demonstrating how traumatic relational aggression can be if used consistently on the same individual, as is the way with many of the girls who fall victim to bullying from a mean girl.

Remillard & Lamb (2005) performed a comprehensive study to examine how adolescent girls dealt with relational aggression. Within their study, participants filled out a survey addressing how they responded to different instances of relational aggression and why they chose to use a certain approach. One of the most important and surprising findings of this study was that 40% of the time, a victim of relational aggression not only remained friends with but also grew closer to their aggressor (Remillard & Lamb, 2005). More broadly speaking, this study found that almost half of the time when relational aggression is used, the friendship will continue in spite of the use of bullying, and the perpetrator therefore does not suffer the negative consequence of losing a close friend (Remillard & Lamb, 2005). This suggests that perpetrators of relational aggression – including mean girls – often are forgiven for and not held accountable for their actions, and therefore could continue to use relational aggression and negatively impact their peers. This brings up the crucial question: how could being forgiven and/or being held accountable by peers impact the frequency relational aggression? Furthermore, how could forgiveness and/or being held accountable impact the likelihood that the perpetrator would make an active effort to reconcile their relationship with the victim?

While existing research does not currently address the role that accountability plays in this process, there is a large amount of existing literature regarding the impact of forgiveness. Research exists indicating that being forgiven can have both positive and negative implications. For instance, some research finds that when a victim chooses to forgive an offender, the offender is more likely to demonstrate remorse and is less likely to become a repeat offender (Wallace, Exline, & Baumeister, 2008). In addition, research performed at Bucknell University indicates that perpetrators will experience more personal responsibility for an offense if they were forgiven by their victims than if they were not forgiven (Daubman, McCabe, Allardyce & Long, 2014). In contrast, other research indicates that being offered forgiveness may increase the chances that a perpetrator will repeat their actions in the future (McNulty, 2010, 2011). Furthermore, if perpetrators are not forgiven, it is possible that they would conclude that their actions were not severe or detrimental enough to warrant forgiveness, and therefore, that they did not do anything wrong (Exline, Worthington, Hill, McCullough, 2003; Zechmeister & Romero, 2002). Thus, a comprehensive conclusion regarding the impact that being forgiven could have on a perpetrator of relational aggression does not exist in the research.

Research examining the circumstances in which an individual will engage in reconciliatory behavior is more consistent. Research performed by Riek, Luna, and Schnabelrauch (2014) found that guilt significantly mediated a perpetrator's

forgiveness-seeking behaviors, but that shame did not demonstrate a similar relationship. Therefore, it would appear that guilt could serve as a strong motivator to seek reconciliation. This is significant because if an individual engages in any type of forgiveness-seeking/reconciliatory behavior, research indicates that they are in turn more likely to be forgiven. Fehr and Gelfand (2010) found that when a perpetrator took responsibility for their actions and apologized to the victim for their actions (a form of forgiveness-seeking behavior), this was most likely to successfully push the victim to offer forgiveness.

This study seeks to build on the cited research above by answering currently unanswered questions in the literature: is there a consistent course of action that will deter individuals from continuing to make use of relational aggression? How do being forgiven and/or being held accountable by peers influence the mindset of a previous perpetrator and whether they will use relational aggression again in the future? How do being forgiven and/or being held accountable by peers influence a perpetrator's decision about whether to engage in reconciliatory behavior with the victim? Based upon previously discussed research, it is hypothesized that when a perpetrator of relational aggression is held accountable for her actions, and is also forgiven by her victim, she will experience high levels of guilt, self blame or both, experience more personal responsibility, will perpetrate the least number of similar instances in the future, and will be most inclined to seek reconciliation with her victim.

Method

Participants

Ninety female students attending Bucknell University participated in this study. Fifty-seven women participated in the fall semester survey, and 33 women participated in the spring semester survey. Participant ages ranged from 18-22, and specifically included 11 first-year students, 29 second-year students, 22 third-year students, and 27 fourth-year students. Of the participants, 5 were Asian, 4 were Latino, 1 was African-American, 1 was mixed race, 1 did not disclose her race, and 77 were Caucasian.

Materials

This study utilized two separate surveys, one for the fall and one for the spring semester. The surveys can be found in Appendix A and Appendix B.
Both surveys first offer participants examples of relational aggression (without explicitly stating that these would be considered relational aggression), and they are then asked to recall an instance when they themselves utilized one of these types of relational aggression with one of their peers. The fall semester survey (Appendix A) asked participants to recall an incident between the months of January and June, and the spring semester survey (Appendix B) asked the participants to recall an incident between the months of August and November. They were asked to describe this event in as much detail as possible, and also what happened after the incident.

Specifically, they were asked if they were forgiven, if their friend held them accountable, if another one of their peers held them accountable, and to explain how they know whether they were forgiven or held accountable.

In both surveys, a series of measures were then provided to the participant to assess various aspects of the interaction described. A measure to assess the degree to which the participant blamed the victim for the described scenario was obtained from Daubman, McCabe, Allardyce, & Long (2014). Cronbach alphas demonstrated good reliability for this measure across 3 different studies (Study 1 α= .86 Study 2 α= .87, Study 4 α= .77). A measure to assess the participants' level of personal responsibility – through measuring their levels of self-blame and guilt – obtained from Daubman et al. (2014) demonstrated similarly good reliability across 3 studies (Study 1 α= .88, Study 2 α= .85 Study 3α= .85). Participants were first presented with the self-blame section of the personal responsibility measure (items #1-#5, Appendix A), followed by the victim blame measure (items #6-#8, Appendix A), and finally with the guilt section of the personal responsibility measure (items #9-#12, Appendix A).

To conclude the surveys, after being asked to recall the date of the incident again, participants were asked to specify how many times they performed a series of actions (which include acts of relational aggression combined with neutral actions) over the following three months. This measure was devised for the purposes of this study to assess the frequency with which the participant engaged in acts of

relational aggression. Finally, participants are asked to provide their age, race, and class year at Bucknell, and to describe what they believe is the purpose of the study. This final question ensured that, if a participant correctly guessed the hypothesis of the study, their results would be excluded to avoid potential bias. No participant guessed the hypothesis of the study.

Prior to administering the new spring semester surveys, preliminary reliability analyses were run to assess if any items should be altered or removed. Self-Blame (α= .81), Victim-Blame (α= .88), and Reconciliation (α= .90), were all found to be very reliable measures, while Guilt was found to be moderately reliable (α= .68). Closer analysis of the distribution of each of the specific measures revealed that all victim-blame items had floor effects. In order to address this issue for the spring survey, all of the items on the victim-blame scale were re-worded to be less extreme and more moderate (i.e., "the other person is to blame for the situation" became "the other person is partially to blame for the situation, "the other person could have avoided the situation" became "the other person contributed to the situation", and finally "the situation is the other person's own fault" became "some of the situation is the other person's own fault"). These new items were incorporated into the spring survey.

Procedure

The fall semester and spring semester surveys were administered using the online survey system Qualtrics. In the fall and spring semester, the link to the survey was sent to the President of the Panhellenic Council, who in turn forwarded the link to the presidents of all Panhellenic sororities located on Bucknell University's campus. This step was meant to engage greek-affiliated women in the current study. In order to target first year women, the survey link was distributed to all first-year Residential Advisers, who then forwarded the link to their halls of first-year students. Finally, utilizing Bucknell University's Message Center system, in order to make the survey readily available to all Bucknell women, the survey link was included within a daily online Message Center board advertised to the entire campus. This daily service was utilized for the duration of each semester while the survey was active. After sufficient participants were collected for each semester, the online surveys were closed. The data were then imported into SPSS.

Results

Cronbach alphas reveal that for the fall survey, Self-Blame (α= .81) and Reconciliation (α= .90), were found to be reliable measures, while Guilt was found to be moderately reliable (α= .68). For the spring survey, Self-Blame (α= .90) and Reconciliation (α= .95) were found to be very reliable, and Guilt was again found to

be moderately reliable (α= .69). The relational aggression scale measures different ways to be aggressive, and therefore it is possible that different people choose to use different strategies. Consequently, one might not expect this measure to show a high Cronbach alpha. Nevertheless, Cronbach alphas were computed on this measure for both the fall and the spring survey. For the fall, the measure was found to be reliable (α= .75), while it was not found to be reliable in the spring (α= .44).

Descriptive statistics for each measure were next examined. Distributions for each measure can be found in Appendix C. Reconciliation (M = 5.88, SD = 2.75), Self-Blame (M = 5.26, SD = 2.35), Guilt (M = 4.58, SD = 1.52), and Victim Accountability (M = 4.03, SD = 2.08) all had good distributions. Forgiveness (M = 5.17, SD= 1.90), Peer Accountability (M = 2.25, SD = 1.72), and Relational Aggression (M = 6.35, SD = 7.67) all demonstrated skewed distributions. Both Forgiveness and Relational Aggression exhibited ceiling effects. In particular, however, for the peer accountability measure, 63 participants said that they were either not held accountable by their peers at all (46 participants) or barely held accountable (17). Because of this floor effect, all tests of proposed hypotheses were run utilizing only victim accountability as the measure of accountability.

A multiple regression analysis was run utilizing SPSS software to test main effects of forgiveness and victim accountability and the interaction between these two variables on relational aggression. Forgiveness and victim accountability were kept as a continuous variable for each participant. Relational aggression was

calculated by averaging each participant's scores for the four items that composed the relational aggression measure created for this study. Table 1 summarizes the results of this analysis.

Table 1

Multiple Regression of Forgiveness & Victim Accountability on Relational Aggression

Variables Measured	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*p*
Did your friend forgive you?	-.63	.87	-.15	.48
Did your friend who you harmed hold you accountable for your actions?	-.61	.99	-.16	.58
Forgiveness x Accountability	.12	.21	.21	.56

No significant main effects were found for forgiveness on relational aggression ($\beta = -.15$, $p = .48$) or for victim accountability on relational aggression ($\beta = -.16$, $p = .54$). In addition, no significant interaction effect was found for forgiveness and victim accountability on relational aggression ($\beta = .21$, $p = .56$).

Additional analyses were performed to explore the results further. Because the spring semester results yielded low reliability ($\alpha = .44$) on the relational aggression measure, the multiple regression analysis were re-run using only the fall semester results that had higher reliability ($\alpha = .75$). As can be seen in Table 2, neither of the main effects or the interaction effect is significant.

This additional analysis decreased its overall power because the number of participants used was lowered. Including data from all 89 participants is more desirable, and so, in order to determine which items on the spring relational

aggression scale were contributing to its lower reliability, an inter-item correlational analysis was computed. Table 3 shows the results of this analysis.

Table 2

Multiple regression of forgiveness & victim accountability on fall-semester relational aggression

Variables Measured	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*p*
Did your friend forgive you? (1 = not at all, 7 = completely)	-.42	1.14	-.09	.18
Did your friend who you harmed hold you accountable for your actions? (1 = not at all, 7 = completely)	-.65	1.33	-.16	.72
Forgiveness x Accountability	.17	.26	.25	.51

Table 3

Inter-Item Correlation of Spring Relational Aggression Scale

	Badmouth a friend behind their back	Spread a rumor about a friend	Exclude a friend	Call a friend a name
Badmouth a friend behind their back	1.00	.21	-.01	.47
Spread a rumor about a friend	.21	1.00	.41	.08
Exclude a friend	-.01	.41	1.00	-.06
Call a friend a name	.47	.08	-.06	1.00

As can be seen from Table 3, Items 2 ("Spread a rumor about a friend") and 3 ("Exclude a friend") correlated poorly with the other two items. A reliability analysis was re-run for the spring relational aggression measure excluding items 2 and 3. This analysis resulted in a much higher reliability ($\alpha = .64$). Participants' average relational aggression scores were re-calculated for the spring semester utilizing only items 1 and 4. A multiple regression was then re-run using the fall relational aggression scores and newly computed spring relational aggression scores. As can be seen in Table 4, neither the main effect nor interaction is significant in this analysis.

Table 4

Multiple regression of forgiveness & victim accountability on fall-semester and excluded spring-semester relational aggression

Variables Measured	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*p*
Did your friend forgive you?	-1.35	10.53	-.03	.90
Did your friend who you harmed hold you accountable for your actions?	-2.06	11.94	-.05	.86
Forgiveness x Accountability	-.13	2.24	-.018	.95

Finally, multiple regression analyses were run for forgiveness and victim accountability, and the interaction between these two variables on relational aggression for each of the four items on the relational aggression measure for both the fall and spring. The only analysis that yielded significant results was on the spring semester using item three of relational aggression ("exclude a friend").

As can be seen in Table 5, a significant relationship exists between forgiveness and item 3 (β = -.94, p = .01), and victim accountability and item 3 (β = -.94 p = .04). Those who had been forgiven reported fewer instances of excluding a friend. Similarly, those who were held accountable reported fewer instances excluding a friend. The interaction effect, however, was not significant (β = .75, p = .14).

Table 5

Multiple regression of forgiveness and victim accountability on relational aggression item 3 (spring semester)

Variables Measured	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*p*
Did your friend forgive you?	-2.33	.89	-.94	.01***
Did your friend who you harmed hold you accountable for your actions?	-2.13	.97	-.94	.04**
Forgiveness x Accountability	.26	.17	.75	.14

**Relationship is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)
***Relationship is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Table 6 shows the results of the multiple regression analysis of the effects of forgiveness, victim accountability, and the interaction between these two variables on reconciliation. Significant main effects were found for forgiveness on reconciliation (β = .52, p = .01,) and victim accountability on reconciliation (β = .39, p = .09,). The more participants said that they were forgiven, the more reconciliation behaviors they reported. In addition, the more often that participants said they were held accountable by the victim, the more reconciliation behavior they reported. No significant interaction effect, however, was found for forgiveness and victim accountability on reconciliation (β = -.12, p = 66,).

Table 6

Multiple Regression of Forgiveness & Victim Accountability on Reconciliation

Variables Measured	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*P*
Did your friend forgive you? (1 = not at all, 7 = completely)	.76	.27	.52	.01***
Did your friend who you harmed hold you accountable for your actions? (1 = not at all, 7 = completely)	.52	.31	.39	.09**
Forgiveness x Accountability	-.03	.06	-.12	.66

**Relationship is significant at the 0.5 level (1-tailed)
***Relationship is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed)

To examine the mediating hypothesis that forgiveness would lead to reconciliation because of feelings of personal responsibility, the inter-correlations among forgiveness, reconciliation and the two measures of personal responsibility: self-blame and guilt were examined. These correlations are displayed in Table 7. Although forgiveness correlates significantly with reconciliation, forgiveness does not correlate with self-blame or guilt. Therefore, feelings of personal responsibility cannot mediate the relationship between forgiveness and reconciliation.

Table 7

Inter-correlations between forgiveness, reconciliation, self-blame, and guilt

Measure	Forgiveness Score	Average Reconciliation	Average Guilt	Average Self-Blame
Forgiveness Score	1.00	.41***	-.04	-.11
Average Reconciliation	.41***	1	.19	.41***
Average Guilt	-.04	.19	1	.44***
Average Self-Blame	-.11	.41***	.44***	1

***Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Discussion

The current study hypothesized that when a perpetrator of relational aggression is held accountable for her actions, and is also forgiven by her victim, she will experience the greatest level of personal responsibility – through experiencing high levels of guilt, self-blame, or both – will perpetrate the least number of similar instances in the future, and will be most inclined to engage in reconciliation behaviors with her victim. This hypothesis was partially supported. Significant main effects were found between forgiveness and reconciliation, and victim accountability and reconciliation. These results expand on existing literature, adding evidence to suggest that the being forgiven has positive results. More specifically, if a perpetrator is forgiven, she is more likely to engage in reconciliatory behaviors

with her victim. In addition, if the victim holds a perpetrator accountable, the perpetrator is also more likely to attempt to reconcile with the victim. These results for the first time demonstrate a connection between accountability and reconciliatory behavior, and also partially support the proposed hypothesis that this connection exists.

However, when these same two variables are considered in an interaction analysis, no significant effect on reconciliation is found, suggesting that being held accountable and being forgiven are independently related to the transgressor's likelihood to try and reconcile with the victim. This does not support the proposed hypothesis. Furthermore, no significant meditating effects for guilt on either of the discovered main effect relationships were found. This held true when guilt was assessed via self-blame scores and personal responsibility scores. For each analysis, guilt was found to significantly correlate with reconciliation, but not forgiveness, which is why a mediating relationship was not found. Therefore, guilt may increase a perpetrator's likelihood to reconcile but appears not to be influenced by whether the perpetrator is forgiven, or if her victim holds her accountable. These results partially support the hypothesis, as guilt predicted a perpetrator's reconciliatory behaviors, but does not support the proposed hypothesis that guilt acts as a mediating variable between forgiveness and reconciliation, and accountability and reconciliation.

Finally, no main effects were found between forgiveness and relational aggression or victim accountability and relational aggression, and no interaction effect was found between forgiveness and victim accountability on relational aggression. Of the multiple analyses performed, the one which yielded significant results was one in which relational aggression was assessed by measuring how many times a perpetrator excluded a friend. These results suggest that exclusion could be the most accurate way to assess a perpetrator's relationally aggressive tendencies. As a whole, however, the results of this study did not support the hypothesis that forgiveness and accountability acting together influence how likely a perpetrator would be to perform relationally aggressive acts in the future.

Overall, all of these findings both add additional perspective to existing research and by provide a basis upon which further research can be performed. As previously discussed, conflicting research exists regarding if forgiveness encourages a perpetrator to continue to act in an aggressive manner or attempt to reconcile with their victim. The results of this study support previous findings that being forgiven will make it more likely for a perpetrator to act in a reconciliatory behavior as opposed to continuing to be aggressive. In addition, the results of this study for the first time suggest that being held accountable, only by a victim, does influence a perpetrator's likelihood to act in a reconciliatory manner. This connection is key because it suggests not only that accountability is an influential variable, but also

that the type of accountability more specifically influences the future behavior of a perpetrator of relational aggression.

One of the major limitations of this study is that the forgiveness measure produced a skewed distribution, specifically showing a ceiling effect. This meant that a majority of the participants of the current study considered themselves to have been at least somewhat forgiven. While significant results were found in various analyses performed in the current study, generalizing these results to be applicable to all instances of varying degrees of forgiveness is not possible. The results of this study, therefore, may be more reflective of the influence of being forgiven as opposed to the general influence of degree of forgiveness (from completely to not at all).

Another major limitation of the present study is that the measure used to assess relational aggression was created for the purposes of this study, whose use has therefore not been replicated across various studies. This measure was created in an attempt to establish a universal measure of relational aggression that could be used in all contexts, due to the fact that such a measure does not currently exist. While this measure did have good reliability from the data collected from the fall semester, it yielded a low reliability for the spring semester. When certain items were excluded from the measure in the spring semester, the reliability increased. However, this same process greatly decreased the reliability of the fall semester results. It does make sense that this measure was not internally consistent, due to

the fact that various individuals prefer distinct ways of being relationally aggressive to others. All of these points considered in conjunction, however, do suggest that the measure of relational aggression created for this study may not have been adequate to reliably assess relational aggression tendencies of participants. This could help to explain why no significant effects were found on relational aggression.

Similarly, an additional limitation of the current study is that the measure created to assess future relational aggression did not differentiate between indirect and direct relational aggression. As previously addressed, there are two different manners in which relational aggression can be performed: indirectly or directly. Furthermore, current studies demonstrate that this difference can significantly influence the outcome of a study if they are not differentiated between in calculating results. Because the measure assessing relational aggression – which was designed for this study – does not account for this difference, it is possible that it is not an accurate measure of all types of relational aggression. Future research, when devising a measure of relational aggression, should account for this difference.

A final limitation of this study is the population from which the participants were sampled. This study was performed on the campus of a predominantly white, private liberal arts university. The participants of this study, therefore, were all college-age women, the majority of whom were white. It is possible that high school and middle school age females would respond differently to the topics and questions presented by the current study. The same could be said for women of

different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds. The results of this current study, therefore, cannot be generalized to represent all women, as they may not reflect responses from a truly diverse sample. Finally, only 90 women participated in this study. While this was within the desired range of participants proposed at the outset of this study, a larger participant sample would increase the power of the statistical analyses.

Continuing this line of research in the future is crucial. Understanding what response to a perpetrator of relational aggression will reduce this same perpetrator's likelihood to be aggressive in the future and attempt to reconcile with the victim is an area that is lacking in current psychological research. Furthermore, there is a significant need for a validated and reliable tool to measure relational aggression, particularly in circumstances of female-to-female interaction. Thus, continuing to investigate this topic will help to advance the field of psychology in an academic sense. Continuing this research in the future, however, also has a much more tangible and significant application in the current day and age. Over the past 10-15 years, increasing amounts of attention has been placed upon examining and preventing bullying, particularly among adolescents and young adults. While the actual percentages vary depending on the specific procedure of a particular study, in 2011 the Center for Disease Control reported that approximately 20% of all 9-12th grade students experience bullying on a regular basis, and an additional 16% were bullied through electronic means (texting, email, Facebook, etc.) (CDC, 2011). Other

reviews report that up to 19% of elementary school students in the United States experience regular bullying (Dake, Price, Telljohann, 2003), and that in a specific sample of 1,025 undergraduate students, 25% of students are bullied during their years at an undergraduate institution (Chapell, Casey, De la Cruz, Ferrell, et al., 2004). Finally, in a study performed by Bradshaw, Sawyer, and O'Brennan (2007), approximately 30% of students were found to have experienced bullying during their years in elementary, middle, and high school.

While these statistics do vary, they all tell the same story: bullying is now a prevalent issue at all levels of education in the United States. As discussed in the introduction, frequent victimization of any form of bullying negatively impacts the victim in a myriad of psychological ways. For this reason, many institutions are currently developing – or have developed – policies to address how victims should best react to instances of aggression, both so that they are not as negatively harmed psychologically, but also to try and decrease occurrences of bullying. Therefore, the results of the current study – and future research on this same topic –could help inform the development of such policies.

Future research should attempt to develop a better measure of relational aggression tendencies, as it will not be possible to truly delve deeply into this topic until a reliable measure of relational aggression is created. While current research on this topic tends to utilize peer accounts and self-report measures to assess relational aggression, this method cannot be utilized in all research studies if they

are structured in such a way that would not allow for the use of such measures (like the current study). For this reason, a measure that can be used across all types of studies should be created. Similarly, future research should investigate if exclusion is indeed the action that best assesses an individual's likelihood to act in a relationally aggressive manner (as the results of the current study may indicate), or if the results of this study solely occurred due to a type I error. The more analyses that are performed examining the relationship between certain variables – in this case relational aggression and forgiveness and accountability – the likelihood increases that a significant relationship will be discovered by random chance. This type of result is labeled a type I error. Due to the numerous analyses that were performed examining the interaction between these variables, it is possible that the results of the current study did indeed occur by chance. Future research should examine if this is the case or if the results are indeed a result of a recurring significant relationship. Subsequent research could replicate the current study to see if guilt ever acts as a meditational variable between forgiveness and reconciliation. An additional way that this could be performed is by utilizing a different measure of guilt than the two that were included in the current study. Finally, future research that either replicates the current study or expands on the topics investigated by this study should engage a more diverse population (both in terms of ethnicity and age) and attempt to collect a larger sample of data.

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Appendix A: Fall Survey

All relationships in our lives include some level of conflict or drama. Friends, for example, will gossip about one another, spread rumors, deliberately exclude peers from a social activity, call each other names, or in some other way harm an existing friendship or relationship. Think back over the first five months of the past year, from mid January to early June. Recall a time when you performed a similar action that harmed a friend or damaged your relationship with this friend.

What was the approximate date when this occurred? _____

Below, describe the incident in as much detail as possible (including who was involved, where it took place, what was said, what actions were completed, how your actions impacted your friend, how your friend felt, etc.)

What occurred after the scenario that you described above?

Did your friend forgive you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						**Completely**

How do you know?

Did your friend who you harmed hold you accountable for your actions?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						**Completely**

Describe the way in which you were or were not held accountable.

Did another member of your friend group hold you accountable for your actions?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						**Completely**

Describe the way in which you were or were not held accountable.

Continuing to recall the whole situation described above, from your initial actions to the reaction of the friend you harmed and your peers, how much do you think your friend experienced each of the following emotions:

(0= not at all, 10= very much)

Upset: 0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

Hurt: 0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

Sad: 0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

Confused: 0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

Betrayed: 0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

Continuing to recall the whole situation described above, from your initial actions to the reaction of the friend you harmed and your peers, indicate how much you agree with each of the following statements:

(0= not at all, 10= very much)

1) I am to blame for the situation

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

2) I feel guilty about what happened

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

3) I feel badly about hurting the other person

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

4) I am upset about the situation

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

5) I feel sick to my stomach when I think about the situation

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

6) The other person is to blame for the situation

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

7) The other person could have avoided the situation

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

8) The situation is the other person's own fault

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

9) I could have avoided causing the situation

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

10) The situation is my fault

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

11) I am not responsible for causing the situation

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

12) I did not do anything wrong to cause the situation

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

Continuing to recall the whole situation described above, from your initial actions to the reaction of the friend you harmed and your peers, how much effort do you think you would put into each of the following?

(0= not at all, 10= very much)

1) Trying to make it up to your friend

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

2) Working to regain your friend's trust

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

3) Finding ways to make your friend feel valued by you

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

4) Finding ways to interact with your friend

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

Think back to the date of the incident that you recalled. What was the approximate date of the incident?

_____

What was the date three months after the incident?

_____

Over this three-month period, how many times did you do each of the following: (For example, if you never did it you would have done it 0 times. Once a month would be roughly 3 times, once a week would be roughly 12 times and every day would be roughly 90 times).

Badmouth a friend behind their back _____

Eat dinner with a friend _____

Spread a rumor about a friend _____

Go to see a movie with a friend _____

Exclude a friend _____

Talk to a friend on the phone _____

Call a friend a name _____

Do a favor for a friend _____

Class Year: _____

Age: _____

Race: _____

What do you believe the purpose of this study is?

Appendix B: Spring Survey

All relationships in our lives include some level of conflict or drama. Friends, for example, will gossip about one another, spread rumors, deliberately exclude peers from a social activity, call each other names, or in some other way harm an existing friendship or relationship. Think back over the past five months of the past year, from mid November to early March. Recall a time when you performed a similar action that harmed a friend or damaged your relationship with this friend.

What was the approximate date when this occurred? _____

Below, describe the incident in as much detail as possible (including who was involved, where it took place, what was said, what actions were completed, how your actions impacted your friend, how your friend felt, etc.)

What occurred after the scenario that you described above?

Did your friend forgive you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						**Completely**

How do you know?

Did your friend who you harmed hold you accountable for your actions?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						**Completely**

Describe the way in which you were or were not held accountable.

Did another member of your friend group hold you accountable for your actions?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						**Completely**

Describe the way in which you were or were not held accountable.

Continuing to recall the whole situation described above, from your initial actions to the reaction of the friend you harmed and your peers, how much do you think your friend experienced each of the following emotions:

(0= not at all, 10= very much)

Upset: 0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

Hurt: 0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

Sad: 0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

Confused: 0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

Betrayed: 0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

Continuing to recall the whole situation described above, from your initial actions to the reaction of the friend you harmed and your peers, indicate how much you agree with each of the following statements:

(0= not at all, 10= very much)

1) I am to blame for the situation

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

2) I feel guilty about what happened

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

3) I feel badly about hurting the other person

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

4) I am upset about the situation

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

5) I feel sick to my stomach when I think about the situation

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

6) The other person is partially to blame for the situation

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

7) The other person contributed to the situation

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

8) Some of the situation is the other person's own fault

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

9) I could have avoided causing the situation

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

10) The situation is my fault

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

11) I am not responsible for causing the situation

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

12) I did not do anything to cause the situation

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

Continuing to recall the whole situation described above, from your initial actions to the reaction of the friend you harmed and your peers, how much effort do you think you put into each of the following?

(0= not at all, 10= very much)

1) Trying to make it up to your friend

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

2) Working to regain your friend's trust

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

3) Finding ways to make your friend feel valued by you

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

4) Finding ways to interact with your friend

0—1—2—3—4—5—6—7—8—9—10

Think back to the date of the incident that you recalled. What was the approximate date of the incident?

_____

What was the date three months after the incident?

_____

Over this three-month period, how many times did you do each of the following: (For example, if you never did it you would have done it 0 times. Once a month would be roughly 3 times, once a week would be roughly 12 times and every day would be roughly 90 times).

Badmouth a friend behind their back _____

Eat dinner with a friend _____

Spread a rumor about a friend _____

Go to see a movie with a friend _____

Exclude a friend _____

Talk to a friend on the phone _____

Call a friend a name _____

Do a favor for a friend _____

Class Year: _____

Age: _____

Race: _____

What do you believe the purpose of this study is?

Appendix C: Frequency Distributions

Table 8

Frequency table for Forgiveness

Did your friend forgive you?
(1 = not at all, 7= completely)

Forgiveness Score	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1	8	8.9	9.0	9.0
2	4	4.4	4.5	13.5
3	1	1.1	1.1	14.6
4	15	16.7	16.9	31.5
5	15	16.7	16.9	48.3
6	16	17.8	18.0	66.3
7	30	33.3	33.7	100.0
Total	89	98.9	100.0	
Excluded	1	1.1		
Total	90	100.0		

Table 9

Frequency table for Victim Accountability

Did your friend who you harmed hold you accountable for your actions?
(1= not at all, 7 = completely)

Victim Accountability Score	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1	16	17.8	18.0	18.0
2	8	8.9	9.0	27.0
3	11	12.2	12.4	39.3
4	16	17.8	18.0	57.3
5	16	17.8	18.0	75.3
6	4	4.4	4.5	79.8
7	18	20.0	20.2	100.0
Total	89	98.9	100.0	
Excluded	1	1.1		
Total	90	100.0		

Table 10

Frequency table for Peer Accountability

Did another member of your friend group hold you accountable for your actions?
(1= not at all, 7 = completely)

Peer Accountability Score	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1	46	51.1	51.7	51.7
2	17	18.9	19.1	70.8
3	6	6.7	6.7	77.5
4	7	7.8	7.9	85.4
5	7	7.8	7.9	93.3
6	3	3.3	3.4	96.6
7	3	3.3	3.4	100.0
Total	89	98.9	100.0	
Excluded	1	1.1		
Total	90	100.0		

Table 11

Frequency table for average Relational Aggression

Average Relational Aggression Score	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
.00	9	10.0	10.1	10.1
.25	3	3.3	3.4	13.5
.50	2	2.2	2.2	15.7
.75	2	2.2	2.2	18.0
1.00	3	3.3	3.4	21.3
1.25	6	6.7	6.7	28.1
1.50	3	3.3	3.4	31.5
2.00	2	2.2	2.2	33.7
2.25	3	3.3	3.4	37.1
2.50	2	2.2	2.2	39.3
2.75	4	4.4	4.5	43.8
3.00	1	1.1	1.1	44.9
3.25	1	1.1	1.1	46.1
3.50	3	3.3	3.4	49.4
3.75	1	1.1	1.1	50.6
4.00	1	1.1	1.1	51.7
4.25	2	2.2	2.2	53.9
4.50	1	1.1	1.1	55.1
5.00	1	1.1	1.1	56.2
5.25	3	3.3	3.4	59.6
5.50	1	1.1	1.1	60.7
5.75	1	1.1	1.1	61.8
6.00	1	1.1	1.1	62.9
6.50	2	2.2	2.2	65.2
6.75	2	2.2	2.2	67.4
7.00	1	1.1	1.1	68.5
7.25	2	2.2	2.2	70.8

	7.50	1	1.1	1.1	71.9
	7.75	2	2.2	2.2	74.2
	8.00	1	1.1	1.1	75.3
	8.25	1	1.1	1.1	76.4
	8.75	1	1.1	1.1	77.5
	9.00	1	1.1	1.1	78.7
	9.75	2	2.2	2.2	80.9
	10.00	1	1.1	1.1	82.0
	10.50	1	1.1	1.1	83.1
	10.75	1	1.1	1.1	84.3
	12.25	2	2.2	2.2	86.5
	12.75	1	1.1	1.1	87.6

	13.25	1	1.1	1.1	88.8
	14.75	2	2.2	2.2	91.0
	16.75	1	1.1	1.1	92.1
	19.50	1	1.1	1.1	93.3
	20.00	1	1.1	1.1	94.4
	23.75	1	1.1	1.1	95.5
	27.50	1	1.1	1.1	96.6
	29.00	1	1.1	1.1	97.8
	29.25	1	1.1	1.1	98.9
	43.50	1	1.1	1.1	100.0
	Total	89	98.9	100.0	
Missing		1	1.1		
Total		90	100.0		

Table 12

Frequency table for average Reconciliation score

Average Reconciliation Score	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1.00	8	8.9	9.0	9.0
1.25	1	1.1	1.1	10.1
2.00	4	4.4	4.5	14.6

	2.25	1	1.1	1.1	15.7
	2.50	1	1.1	1.1	16.9
	3.00	2	2.2	2.2	19.1
	3.25	4	4.4	4.5	23.6
	3.50	1	1.1	1.1	24.7
	3.75	1	1.1	1.1	25.8
	4.00	2	2.2	2.2	28.1
	4.50	2	2.2	2.2	30.3
	4.75	3	3.3	3.4	33.7
	5.00	3	3.3	3.4	37.1
	5.25	4	4.4	4.5	41.6
	5.50	1	1.1	1.1	42.7

	5.75	3	3.3	3.4	46.1
	6.00	1	1.1	1.1	47.2
	6.25	1	1.1	1.1	48.3
	6.50	3	3.3	3.4	51.7
	6.75	5	5.6	5.6	57.3
	7.00	5	5.6	5.6	62.9
	7.25	5	5.6	5.6	68.5
	7.50	3	3.3	3.4	71.9
	7.75	3	3.3	3.4	75.3
	8.00	2	2.2	2.2	77.5
	8.25	2	2.2	2.2	79.8
	8.50	1	1.1	1.1	80.9
	8.75	4	4.4	4.5	85.4
	9.00	2	2.2	2.2	87.6
	9.25	1	1.1	1.1	88.8
	9.50	1	1.1	1.1	89.9
	10.00	9	10.0	10.1	100.0
	Total	89	98.9	100.0	
Missing		1	1.1		
Total		90	100.0		

Table 13

Frequency table for average Self-Blame score

Average self-blame score	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1.00	3	3.3	3.4	3.4
1.20	1	1.1	1.1	4.5
1.40	2	2.2	2.2	6.7
1.80	1	1.1	1.1	7.9
2.20	2	2.2	2.2	10.1
2.40	1	1.1	1.1	11.2
2.60	3	3.3	3.4	14.6

2.80	6	6.7	6.7	21.3
3.00	2	2.2	2.2	23.6
3.20	1	1.1	1.1	24.7
3.40	2	2.2	2.2	27.0
3.80	3	3.3	3.4	30.3
4.00	3	3.3	3.4	33.7
4.20	1	1.1	1.1	34.8
4.40	1	1.1	1.1	36.0
4.60	4	4.4	4.5	40.4
4.80	5	5.6	5.6	46.1
5.00	1	1.1	1.1	47.2
5.20	3	3.3	3.4	50.6
5.40	3	3.3	3.4	53.9
5.60	6	6.7	6.7	60.7
5.80	2	2.2	2.2	62.9
6.00	2	2.2	2.2	65.2
6.40	3	3.3	3.4	68.5
6.60	2	2.2	2.2	70.8
6.80	4	4.4	4.5	75.3
7.00	1	1.1	1.1	76.4
7.20	2	2.2	2.2	78.7
7.40	3	3.3	3.4	82.0
7.60	2	2.2	2.2	84.3
7.80	1	1.1	1.1	85.4

	8.00	2	2.2	2.2	87.6
	8.20	1	1.1	1.1	88.8
	8.40	1	1.1	1.1	89.9
	9.00	3	3.3	3.4	93.3
	9.20	2	2.2	2.2	95.5
	9.40	1	1.1	1.1	96.6
	9.80	1	1.1	1.1	97.8
	10.00	2	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	89	98.9	100.0	
Missing		1	1.1		
Total		90	100.0		